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## CHAPTER 36

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### The Cold War

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#### Time Line

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| 1945 | The United Nations is established   |
| 1946 | Winston Churchill delivers his Iron Curtain speech                            |
| 1947 | Peace treaties are signed with Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Italy, and Rumania |
|      | President Truman calls for American aid to Greece and Turkey                  |
|      | The United States proposes the Marshall Plan                                  |
| 1948 | A Communist dictatorship is imposed on Czechoslovakia                         |
|      | The Soviets begin the Berlin Blockade   |



- |      |   |
|------|---|
| 1949 | The German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic are established                |
|      | The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is created                                      |
|      | The Communists win the Chinese civil war  |
| 1950 | North Korea invades South Korea   |
| 1953 | An armistice ends the Korean War  |
| 1954 | The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) is established.                                |
| 1955 | West Germany becomes a member of NATO   |
|      | The Soviets establish the Warsaw Pact   |
|      | The Baghdad Pact is established   |
|      | The Austrian State Treaty is signed   |
|      | The Geneva summit conference meets  |
| 1961 | The Berlin Wall is built  |
| 1962 | The Cuban missile crisis endangers world peace  |
| 1963 | The United States and the Soviet Union sign the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty                       |
| 1972 | The United States and the Soviet Union sign the SALT I Treaty and the ABM Treaty              |
| 1979 | The Soviet Union invades Afghanistan  |
| 1985 | Mikhail Gorbachev becomes general secretary of the Soviet Communist party                     |
| 1987 | The United States and the Soviet Union sign the Intermediate Range Nuclear Force (INF) treaty |

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*During World War II, the Allies were compelled to cooperate in order to defeat the aggression of the Axis powers. Once the defeat of the Axis*

*was assured, the need for cooperation ended. Even before Germany's surrender in May 1945, the Western Allies—the United States and Great Britain—became alarmed by the expansion of Soviet power in Eastern Europe. As the Red Army advanced toward Germany, the Soviets established Communist regimes in the countries they occupied and refused to permit free elections.*

*Concerned about Soviet intentions, the Western powers moved to contain Soviet expansion. This clash between the Western powers and the Soviets resulted in the Cold War.*

## Origins and Development of the Cold War

### The Founding of the United Nations

In April 1945, delegates from fifty nations met in San Francisco to draft the Charter of the United Nations (UN). The UN closely resembled the old League of Nations in its basic organization. All member nations were represented in the General Assembly, while the Security Council consisted of eleven (later increased to fifteen) members. The five great powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, and China—were permanent members of the Security Council with the right of veto. The other six members were elected for two-year terms by the General Assembly. The Secretariat, headed by the Secretary General, dealt with administrative matters. These UN agencies had their headquarters in New York, while the International Court of Justice met in The Hague, the capital of the Netherlands. The UN Charter also established several specialized agencies to deal with various political, economic, and social matters.

While the UN was intended to promote international cooperation in the cause of world peace, it quickly became a forum for the expression of increasing East-West antagonism.

### The Soviets and Eastern Europe

As a consequence of its advance against Germany in the final months of World War II in Europe, the Soviets' Red Army came to dominate much of Eastern Europe.



*The Soviet Bloc*

Joseph Stalin (1879–1953), the Soviet dictator, used the power his army gave him to establish Communist dictatorships in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, and—slightly later—Hungary. Local Communists established themselves in power in Yugoslavia and Albania. In Czechoslovakia, a legitimate coalition government was created, although Communists held most of the important positions. Stalin thus accomplished his goal of making certain that the countries along the western frontier of the Soviet Union would have friendly governments.

*The Iron Curtain*

The Soviets refused to heed American protests, and East-West relations continued to deteriorate. In a speech at Fulton, Missouri, in March 1946, Winston Churchill (1874–1965), the former British prime minister, introduced a new term to the political vocabulary when he declared: “From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent.”

**East-West Relations in Germany**

Following Germany’s defeat in May 1945, the Americans, British, Soviets, and French took control of their occupation zones. Berlin, the former German capital lying within the Soviet zone some one hundred miles from the Western zones, was divided into four occupation sectors. The Western powers had access to their sectors by highway, railroad, and air routes through the Soviet zone.

The occupying powers established the Allied Control Council to determine the policies to be executed in their occupation zones. In practice, however, the four powers failed to reach agreement on common policies, and thus each power proceeded to determine policy for its own zone.

*Consolidation of Western Zones*

In early 1947, the American and British zones were merged for economic purposes, and the French joined their zone several months later. In this way, the Western powers took the first steps toward the establishment of a separate West German state.

*Peace Treaties with Germany’s Allies*

The wartime Allies were never able to agree on a peace treaty with Germany. However, in February 1947, they signed peace treaties with Germany’s allies: Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Italy, and Rumania.

**U.S. Containment Policy**

In early 1946, George F. Kennan (b. 1904), a member of the staff of the American embassy in Moscow, drafted a lengthy analysis of the Soviet Union and its expansionist policies. Recalled to Washington, Kennan played a central role in designing a policy to halt Soviet expansion, the policy he called containment. Kennan believed that only a policy of determined and continuing resistance could halt the advance of Soviet power.

*The Truman Doctrine*

The first step in implementing the new American containment policy came in response to an urgent appeal from the British. At the end of World War II, Great Britain had assumed a major responsibility in the eastern Mediterranean, providing assistance to the Greek government in its war against Communist rebels and to Turkey in its efforts to resist Soviet demands for a larger voice in the control of the Dardanelles. In February 1947, the British informed the United States that they no longer had the financial strength to continue this role. The United States would have to take over.

Appearing before a joint session of Congress on March 12, 1947, President Harry S. Truman (1884–1972) called for the appropriation of \$400 million for military and economic assistance to Greece and Turkey. The President also expressed what came to be known as the Truman Doctrine: “I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure.” Congress quickly approved the President’s appeal for aid to Greece and Turkey.

*The Marshall Plan*

The prospect of a total economic collapse of war-ravaged Europe increased fears that the Soviet Union might extend its power over the entire continent.



In June 1947, George C. Marshall (1880–1959), the American secretary of state, proposed a broad program of American assistance to help all of Europe recover economically. The Soviets refused to participate, evidently believing that the Marshall Plan was designed to weaken their hold on Eastern Europe.

The American Congress was initially reluctant to appropriate billions of dollars to promote economic recovery in Europe. Then, in February 1948, a Soviet-inspired coup in Czechoslovakia overthrew that country's coalition government and established a Communist dictatorship. Believing the Marshall Plan would help stop the advance of Soviet power, Congress approved it in April 1948. Between 1948 and 1952, the European Recovery Program (ERP), as the Marshall Plan was officially known, provided about \$13 billion in American assistance for the economic revival of Western Europe.

### The Berlin Blockade

As the Western powers proceeded with their plans for creating a separate West German state, the Soviets decided to apply pressure on the West where they could do so with the greatest ease, at Berlin.

#### *The Airlift*

On June 20, 1948, the Soviets cut off the highway and railroad routes between the Western occupation zones and Berlin, thereby initiating the Berlin Blockade. In response, the United States established the Berlin airlift, designed to provide the three Western sectors of the city with food, fuel, and other supplies.

#### *Creation of Two German States*

The Berlin airlift succeeded in meeting the needs of the Western sectors, and the Soviets decided against escalating the crisis. In May 1949, the Soviets ended the blockade, and the Western powers proceeded with their plans to establish the Federal Republic of Germany, which came into being in mid-1949. The Soviets responded by creating an East German state, the German Democratic Republic, in their zone.

### The Establishment of NATO

Mounting East-West tension gradually led the Western powers to join in a military alliance.

#### *The Brussels Pact*

In March 1948, Great Britain, France, and the Benelux states (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg) signed a treaty of alliance, the Brussels Pact. Also during 1948, the United States established a peacetime draft in order to increase the size of its armed forces.

#### *The North Atlantic Pact*

In April 1949, representatives of twelve nations met in Washington to sign the North Atlantic Pact. The twelve signers included the five Brussels Pact states plus the United States, Canada, Iceland, Denmark, Norway, Italy, and Portugal. Greece and Turkey joined in 1952, and West Germany was added in 1955. The North Atlantic Pact established the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to coordinate the activities of the alliance.

## The Cold War in Asia

### The Communist Victory in China

Following the end of the war against Japan in 1945, China was torn apart by a civil war between the Nationalist (Kuomintang) government of Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975) and the Communists, led by Mao Tse-tung (1893–1976). The United States provided Chiang with considerable financial and military assistance. But the Nationalist cause was weakened by widespread corruption and a devastating inflation.

#### *The People's Republic of China*

Mao's Red Army gradually extended its control over China. In October 1949, Mao proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC), formed an alliance with Soviet Union, and initiated a campaign against American influence and power in East Asia. Chiang Kai-shek withdrew the remnant of his forces to the island of Taiwan.



The United States refused to recognize the PRC and instead maintained diplomatic relations with Chiang's government on Taiwan.

### **U.S.-Japanese Alliance**

The United States began to develop Japan as its main ally in Asia. In 1951, the United States signed a peace treaty with Japan. The following year, the American occupation ended and the two nations signed a security treaty.

### **The Korean War**

At the end of World War II, Japanese-ruled Korea was occupied by American and Soviet forces, with the line between the occupation zones established at the 38th parallel. In the south, the United States supported the creation of a government headed by Syngman Rhee (1875–1965), a conservative nationalist. In the north, the Soviets established a Communist government, led by Kim Il-Sung (b. 1912). Both occupying powers withdrew in 1949.

#### ***The Outbreak of War***

On June 25, 1950, the army of North Korea attacked South Korea. The United States moved to support South Korea, taking advantage of a temporary Soviet absence from the UN Security Council to win that body's endorsement of American intervention. The Security Council's action made the Korean War officially a United Nations police action, although the bulk of the fighting was done by the Americans and South Koreans.

#### ***MacArthur's Advance***

At first, the Korean War went badly as North Koreans poured across the 38th parallel. In August, the North Korean advance was halted at Pusan in the southeast corner of the country. In September, General Douglas MacArthur (1880–1964), the commander of the UN forces, carried out a brilliant landing at Inchon, behind the North Korean lines. Most of the North Korean army in the south was cut off and destroyed.

Although the United States had originally intervened in Korea in

order to restore the dividing line of the 38th parallel, MacArthur's victory presented the prospect of using military force to unite all of Korea. The Chinese warned that they would intervene if the UN forces approached the Yalu River, the border between North Korea and China. The United States disregarded the warnings.

In late November, the Chinese intervened, and by December, had driven the UN forces out of North Korea. MacArthur finally succeeded in stabilizing the front near the 38th parallel.

#### ***Dismissal of MacArthur***

When the Truman administration decided to wage a limited war in Korea and not attempt to reunify the country, MacArthur protested. In April 1951, Truman relieved MacArthur of his command. Under the leadership of General Matthew Ridgway (b. 1895), MacArthur's successor, UN armies smashed the Chinese and advanced northward, establishing a line roughly along the 38th parallel.

#### ***Signing of Armistice***

In October 1951, armistice talks began at Panmunjom and continued until July 1953, when an armistice was signed. Under its terms, Korea remained divided at the 38th parallel.

## **The Cold War During the 1950s**

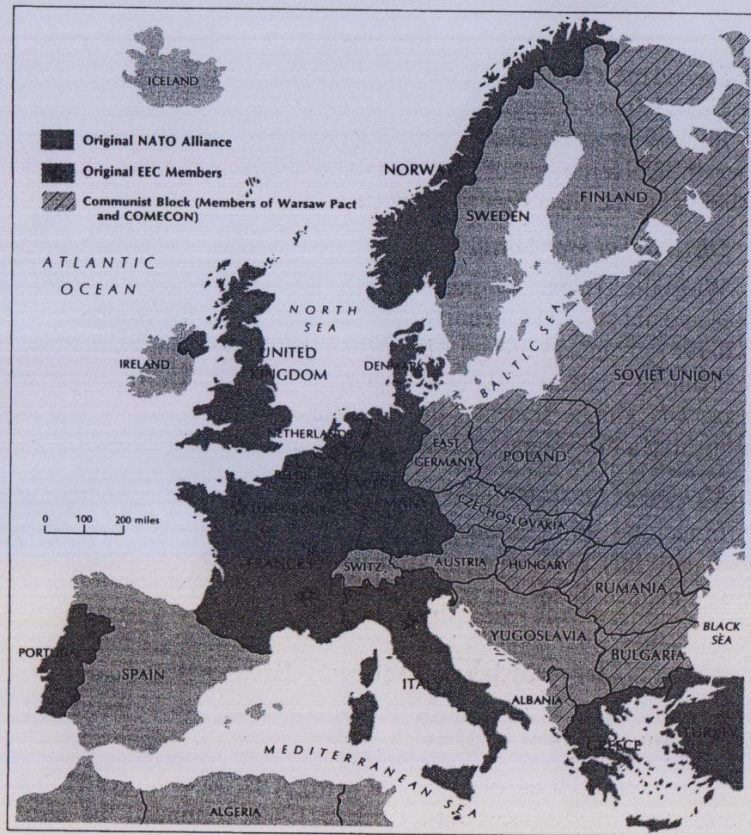
### **The Rearmament of West Germany**

The administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890–1969), which held office from 1953 to 1960, continued the effort initiated by Truman to reach an agreement to rearm West Germany and bring that country into the Western defense system. France's fear of a rearmed Germany stood as the main obstacle in the path of achieving this objective.

#### ***The European Defense Community***

In October 1950, French Premier René Pleven (b. 1901) had proposed the creation of an integrated Western European army including West German troops. Complex negotiations on what came to be known as the Pleven Plan resulted in the signing, in May 1952, of a





Europe During the Cold War

treaty providing for the establishment of the European Defense Community (EDC). Even though the project had been originated by the French, the French parliament rejected the EDC treaty in the summer of 1954.

#### *Agreement on West German Rearmament*

Following the collapse of the EDC, negotiations among the

Western allies led to a British commitment to maintain several divisions on the European continent in order to provide reassurance to the French. The Western powers then agreed to permit the rearmament of West Germany, which became a member of NATO in 1955.

#### *The Warsaw Pact*

In May 1955, the Soviets established the Warsaw Pact. This military alliance of the Soviets with Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Rumania formalized a system that already existed.

#### *The American Alliance System*

During the 1950s, the Eisenhower administration expanded the Western alliance system, which had begun with the creation of NATO in 1949.

#### *SEATO*

In September 1954, the United States sponsored the establishment of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), the Asian equivalent of NATO. SEATO's members included the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan.

#### *The Baghdad Pact (CENTO)*

The creation of the Baghdad Pact in 1955 marked the completion of the American alliance system. Consisting of Great Britain, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan, the Baghdad Pact joined NATO and SEATO. Turkey, the easternmost member of NATO, was the westernmost member of the Baghdad Pact, while Pakistan, the westernmost member of SEATO, was the easternmost member of the Baghdad Pact.

In 1958, Iraq dropped out of the Baghdad Pact in the wake of an anti-Western coup. Since Baghdad was Iraq's capital, the alliance was renamed the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO).

#### *The Geneva Summit*

In March 1953, Stalin died, and control of the Soviet government



passed into the hands of a more moderate collective leadership. Communist party chief Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971) and Premier Nikolai Bulganin (1895–1975) spoke of “peaceful coexistence” between the Soviet Union and the West.

In 1955, the Soviet Union and the major Western allies, the United States, Great Britain, and France, reached agreement on the Austrian State Treaty. This accord ended the four-power occupation of Austria, which became a fully independent state committed to neutrality.

In July 1955, Eisenhower, British Prime Minister Anthony Eden (1897–1977), and French Premier Edgar Faure (1908–1988) met with Khrushchev and Bulganin in Geneva. This was the first meeting in a decade of the heads of the four governments, who conducted their talks in a cordial atmosphere. Following this summit meeting, there was talk of the “Spirit of Geneva,” even though East and West had not reached any agreements on the major issues that divided them, notably German reunification and arms limitation.

### The Berlin Crisis of 1958

In November 1958, Khrushchev began a campaign to solve the German question on terms favorable to the Soviet Union. He demanded that the Western powers agree to accept within six months the neutralization and demilitarization of West Berlin. If they did not, the Soviets would sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany and turn their rights in Berlin over to the East Germans. This would force the Americans, British, and French to deal with a government they did not recognize.

The Soviets acted in Berlin because West Berlin provided an easy escape route for dissatisfied East Germans. The flight of East Germans to the West created a crisis situation for the East German economy, which could not continue to sustain the loss of so much skilled labor.

When the Western powers refused to give way, Khrushchev let the six-month deadline pass. It remained apparent, however, that the Soviet leader was not prepared to accept the Berlin situation as it stood.

Nevertheless, the immediate crisis had passed by the spring of 1959, and in September Khrushchev visited the United States. Eisen-

hower and Khrushchev agreed to discuss Germany and other outstanding issues at a summit meeting to be held in Paris in the spring of 1960.

### The U-2 Incident and the Collapse of the Paris Summit

Since 1955, American high-altitude U-2 spy planes had been carrying out surveillance operations over Soviet territory. On May 1, 1960, the Soviets succeeded in downing a U-2 and capturing its pilot. Khrushchev used this U-2 incident to break up the Paris summit meeting as it was about to convene in June. The summit had little likelihood of success, since neither side was prepared to give way on any of its established positions.

## Crisis and Détente: East-West Relations from the 1960s through the 1980s

### The Berlin Wall

In early 1961, Khrushchev renewed his pressure on the Western powers in Berlin. Then, on August 13, the Soviets and East Germans closed the border between East and West Berlin and began the construction of the Berlin Wall, which prevented the flight of East Germans to the West. While the Western powers protested the building of the wall, they took no other action, and the Berlin crisis gradually eased.

### The Bay of Pigs

In 1959, Fidel Castro (b. 1927) overthrew the government of Fulgencio Batista (1901–1973), the American-supported Cuban dictator. Soon after Castro took power, strains developed in Cuban-American relations, and in January 1961, the United States broke diplomatic ties with Cuba.

The American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had begun training Cuban exiles for an invasion of Cuba. When President John F. Kennedy (1917–1963) took office in 1961, he approved the plan. On April 17, 1961, an exile force of 1,500 men landed at the Bay of Pigs on Cuba's southern coast. Within three days, Castro's forces crushed



the invasion. In December, Castro proclaimed himself a Marxist-Leninist and moved closer to the Soviet Union.

### **The Cuban Missile Crisis**

Concerned about the possibility of American action against Cuba, Castro turned to the Soviet Union for aid. The Soviets provided the Cubans with airplanes and other conventional weapons and also began to construct missile launching pads for intermediate range missiles. The Cuban missile crisis, the most dangerous East-West confrontation of the Cold War, was about to begin.

#### *U.S.-Soviet Confrontation*

On October 22, 1962, Kennedy demanded that the Soviets dismantle the missile sites and remove the missiles. He also established an American naval quarantine to prevent Soviet ships from bringing additional offensive weapons to Cuba.

#### *Negotiations and Settlement*

Tense negotiations between Washington and Moscow brought an end to the Cuban missile crisis on October 28. Khrushchev agreed to dismantle the launching pads and remove the missiles, and Kennedy pledged not to invade Cuba. The United States agreed informally to pull its missiles out of Turkey, although this commitment was not a formal part of the agreement ending the crisis.

In the aftermath of the Cuban missile crisis, the Washington-Moscow hot line was established to facilitate speedy communication in the event of another crisis.

### **The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty**

Following the resolution of the Cuban missile crisis, long-stalled American-Soviet negotiations resumed and resulted in the signing of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in July 1963. The treaty banned the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere. Underground tests could continue. A number of other nations adhered to the treaty, although France and the People's Republic of China did not. These two countries were busy developing their own nuclear weapons.

### **Détente and East-West Treaties**

Following the signing of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the United States and the Soviet Union initiated efforts to promote a further reduction of tension in their relationship. This reduction of tension was referred to as détente.

#### *The Outer Space Treaty*

In January 1967, the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and fifty-seven other countries signed the Outer Space Treaty, banning weapons of mass destruction, as well as military installations, from outer space.

#### *The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty*

The United States, the Soviet Union, and sixty other nations signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in July 1968. The treaty was designed to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to nonnuclear countries. France, the People's Republic of China, and several other countries refused to accept the treaty.

#### *SALT I and ABM Treaties*

For several years, negotiations had been underway between the United States and the Soviet Union for a strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT). In May 1972, the Americans and Soviets signed the SALT I Treaty, agreeing to freeze the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) at their existing levels for five years. However, no limit was placed on the number of warheads that could be carried by each missile. SALT I thus did little to end the arms race. The United States and the Soviet Union also signed the Antiballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, agreeing to restrict the construction of antiballistic missile systems to two sites in each country. Other American-Soviet accords promoted increases in trade and scientific and cultural exchanges.

#### *The SALT II Treaty*

Further arms-limitation negotiations led to the signing, in mid-1979, of the SALT II Treaty, which placed limits on long-range missiles, bombers, and nuclear warheads. The treaty encountered strong



opposition from American conservatives, who charged that the treaty favored the Soviets.

### The End of Détente

In December 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in an effort to defend the pro-Soviet government against insurgents. President Jimmy Carter (b. 1924) responded to the Soviet action by imposing economic sanctions on the Soviet Union and declaring a U.S. boycott of the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympic Games. He also withdrew the SALT II Treaty from Senate consideration, though both sides continued to observe the obligations of the treaty. Nevertheless, by 1980, détente appeared to be at an end, and there was talk of a new Cold War.

#### Martial Law in Poland

President Ronald Reagan (b. 1911), who took office in 1981, pursued a hard line toward the Soviet Union. American-Soviet relations were strained further by events in Poland. In 1981, under pressure from Moscow, the Polish government imposed martial law in an attempt to destroy the challenge to its authority presented by Solidarity, an independent labor union. In protest, the United States imposed economic sanctions on Poland.

#### Korean Plane Incident

The atmosphere of the new Cold War was intensified in September 1983, when a Soviet fighter shot down a Korean Airlines 747 that had strayed over Soviet territory on a flight from Alaska to Seoul, South Korea. All 269 persons aboard the plane died. The Soviets insisted that the plane had been engaged in espionage.

### Renewed Easing of East-West Tension

After Mikhail Gorbachev (b. 1931) took office as general secretary of the Soviet Communist party in March 1985, East-West tension began to ease. In late 1985, Reagan and Gorbachev held a cordial meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, agreeing to resume arms-limitation negotiations. The two leaders held their second summit meeting in Reykjavik,

Iceland, in October 1986, although no agreements on arms limitation were reached.

### The INF Treaty

Continuing American-Soviet negotiations led to a third Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Washington in December 1987. The two leaders signed the Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, which called for the scrapping, over a three-year period, of all American and Soviet missiles with a range of 315 to 3,125 miles. The INF Treaty was the first American-Soviet agreement to actually reduce the level of arms.

### Continuing Issues of Disagreement

The United States and the Soviet Union continued negotiations in an effort to reach agreement on a reduction of conventional forces in Europe and long-range missiles. However, discord over American development of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) continued. In addition, while Soviet forces withdrew from Afghanistan, the Americans and Soviets remained at odds over human rights in the Soviet Union and regional conflicts.

*The Cold War conflict divided much of the world into two armed camps as the United States developed a global policy of containment in its effort to limit the expansion of Soviet power. Serious crises developed: at Berlin in 1948–1949 and again from 1958 to 1961, in Korea in the early 1950s, and in the Cuban missile crisis of 1962.*

*These crises did not lead to war, however, and gradually the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, sought a relaxation of tension—a détente—in their relationship. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 brought new strains to the East-West relationship, and there was talk of a new Cold War. Then, during the late 1980s, the United States and the Soviet Union renewed their arms-limitation negotiations, signed the INF Treaty, and sought ways to reduce the suspicion and distrust that had for decades marked their relationship.*



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## CHAPTER 37

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### The Western Democracies Since 1945

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#### Time Line

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|------|---|
| 1945 | Laborite Clement Attlee becomes British prime minister                |
| 1946 | The French Fourth Republic is established<br>Italy becomes a republic |
| 1947 | Christian Democrat Alcide de Gasperi becomes Italy's premier          |
| 1949 | Christian Democrat Konrad Adenauer becomes West Germany's chancellor  |



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## CHAPTER 38

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### The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe Since 1945

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**Time Line**

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| 1947 | The Soviet Union establishes the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) |
| 1948 | A Communist dictatorship is imposed on Czechoslovakia                     |
|      | Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito defects from the Soviet bloc                    |
| 1953 | Joseph Stalin dies; Georgi Malenkov becomes Soviet premier                |
|      | The Soviets suppress the East German revolt                               |



- |      |  |
|------|--|
| 1955 | Marshal Nikolai Bulganin replaces Malenkov as premier  |
| 1956 | Nikita Khrushchev denounces Stalin in a speech to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party                            |
|      | Wladyslaw Gomulka becomes head of the Polish Communist Party   |
|      | The Soviets suppress the Hungarian revolution  |
| 1957 | The Soviets launch <i>Sputnik I</i>  |
| 1958 | Nikita Khrushchev becomes Soviet premier, succeeding Bulganin  |
|      | Boris Pasternak wins the Nobel Prize for literature  |
| 1960 | Albania breaks with the Soviet Union   |
| 1963 | Rumania begins to pursue a more independent course   |
| 1964 | Leonid I. Brezhnev succeeds Khrushchev as general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party; Alexei N. Kosygin becomes premier |
| 1968 | The Soviets invade Czechoslovakia, ending Alexander Dubcek's reform efforts  |
| 1980 | Solidarity, an independent trade union, is established in Poland   |
| 1981 | General Wojciech Jaruzelski becomes head of the Polish Communist Party   |
| 1985 | Mikhail Gorbachev becomes general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party  |
| 1989 | The Polish government grants legal recognition to Solidarity   |

*The Soviet Union emerged from World War II as one of the two super-powers, along with the United States. Although the Soviets had suffered immense losses of both lives and property, Soviet heavy industry continued to expand, and the country's armed might increased. The totalitarian political system remained intact, although after Stalin's death in 1953 his heirs made some efforts to reduce the repression. After taking office as general secretary of the Communist Party in 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev initiated a far-reaching reform program.*

*The Soviets took control of most of Eastern Europe at war's end. Despite the imposition of Communist governments in the so-called satellite states, however, nationalism remained a powerful force, and a number of challenges to Soviet domination emerged.*

## The Soviet Union

### Stalin's Last Years

As Joseph Stalin's dictatorship moved into its final years, the Soviet Union remained a brutal police state. The expression of dissent was impossible, and intellectuals and artists were forced into a leaden conformity. Stalin's cult of personality grew, and his authority remained unchallenged.

### Economic Policy

According to one estimate, World War II had cost the Soviet Union a third of its national wealth. The Soviets launched a new series of Five Year Plans designed to reconstruct the nation's economy and to promote its further expansion. Emphasis continued to be placed on the development of heavy industry, while the production of consumer goods and the construction of housing were neglected. Agricultural production lagged, and food shortages were a common feature of Soviet life. The Soviets also devoted much of their resources to the development of their military strength.

### Death of Stalin

During late 1952 and early 1953, it appeared that Stalin might be on the verge of launching another great purge, repeating the horrors of



the 1930s. The Soviet press reported charges that a group of physicians had conspired to kill a number of Soviet leaders. As the propaganda campaign intensified, Stalin died suddenly on March 6, 1953.

### The Soviet Union Under Khrushchev

Although Georgi Malenkov (1902–1988) succeeded Stalin as premier, a collective leadership exercised power. The new leaders quickly brought a halt to the “Doctors’ Plot” campaign and ordered the release of the accused. Lavrenti Beria (1899–1953), the ambitious head of the secret police, was dismissed and executed. Gradually, Nikita Khrushchev (1894–1971), the party secretary, emerged as the most influential of the country’s new leaders. In 1955, he succeeded in replacing Malenkov with Marshal Nikolai Bulganin (1895–1975). Khrushchev then moved to solidify his own power, and by 1958 he was strong enough to take the premiership for himself. Nevertheless, Khrushchev was never able to wield the kind of unchallenged power that Stalin had.

#### Economic Policy

While the Soviet Union remained an authoritarian state, Khrushchev initiated a number of reforms. In the sphere of economic policy, although he did not abandon the traditional emphasis on heavy industry, Khrushchev encouraged the production of consumer goods and the construction of housing. He boasted that by 1970 Soviet per capita production would catch up with that of the United States. In fact, the expansion of the Soviet economy began to lag during the 1960s, and Khrushchev’s boast was soon forgotten.

#### Agriculture

In an effort to increase agricultural production, Khrushchev consolidated collective farms into larger units and initiated the virgin lands program, beginning the cultivation of semiarid land, especially in Western Siberia and Central Asia. Although the program scored some early successes, a series of droughts soon turned much of the area into a dust bowl.

#### Space Achievements

The Soviets continued to invest much of their resources in the arms race and devoted increasing appropriations to space research. In the autumn of 1957, the Soviets launched *Sputnik I*, the first artificial earth satellite. In 1959, they succeeded in sending a rocket to the moon, and in April 1961, Yuri Gagarin (1934–1968) made the first manned orbital flight. The Soviets’ space exploits greatly increased the international prestige of the Soviet Union, especially in the Third World.

#### “The Thaw”

In February 1956, Khrushchev delivered a powerful denunciation of Stalin’s policy mistakes, crimes, and cult of personality in an address to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

Khrushchev rehabilitated many of Stalin’s victims, some posthumously, and millions of prisoners were released from the Soviet Union’s labor camps. Intellectuals and artists were permitted greater freedom of expression in what came to be called The Thaw. Works appeared in print that could not conceivably have been published in Stalin’s time. One of the most notable was Vladimir Dudintsev’s *Not by Bread Alone* (1957), an outspoken criticism of the Soviet bureaucracy.

#### Pasternak

The case of Boris Pasternak’s great novel *Doctor Zhivago* soon revealed the limits of The Thaw. In *Doctor Zhivago*, Pasternak (1890–1960) celebrated the human spirit and did not attempt to conform to the ideological standards dictated by the Soviet Writers’ Union.

Initially, the Soviet censors approved the publication of *Doctor Zhivago*, and a copy of the manuscript was sent to an Italian publisher. The censors then reversed themselves, declaring the novel unacceptable because of its rejection of the principles of the revolution. The Italian publisher refused to return the manuscript, however, and published an Italian translation in 1957. Translations in other Western languages quickly followed. Pasternak was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1958. The Soviet authorities told Pasternak that if he left the country to accept the award, he would not be allowed to return. Pasternak spent the remaining years of his life in seclusion.



*Foreign Policy*

In foreign affairs, Khrushchev first sought a reduction of tension with the West and then pursued a more adventurist policy, challenging the Western powers at Berlin and the United States in the Cuban missile crisis (see Chapter 36). In addition, Soviet relations with Communist China deteriorated.

*Fall of Khrushchev*

Opposition to Khrushchev gradually increased within the Soviet leadership, which criticized him for his failures in agriculture and foreign policy and also for his personal "rudeness." He was removed from his positions in October 1964. Alexei N. Kosygin (1904–1980) replaced him as premier, while Leonid I. Brezhnev (1906–1982) became general secretary of the Communist Party. Brezhnev gradually became the dominant figure in the Soviet regime, and in 1977 he assumed the additional title of president.

**The Soviet Union from Brezhnev to Gorbachev**

In economic affairs, the Brezhnev years were a period of increasing stagnation. Although more consumer goods and housing became available, the quality was often shoddy and shortages persisted. Agriculture remained particularly troubled, and the Soviets depended on grain imports from the United States and other Western countries.

*Expulsion of Solzhenitsyn*

For Soviet intellectuals and artists, the Brezhnev era was a time of renewed repression. The most famous case involved the writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn (b. 1918). Under Stalin, Solzhenitsyn had been imprisoned in a labor camp and his brief novel based on that experience, *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, had been published in the Soviet Union in 1962. Solzhenitsyn ran into increasing trouble with the authorities, however, and permission to publish other works was denied.

Solzhenitsyn smuggled manuscripts to the West, where they were published, and he was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1970. Like Pasternak, Solzhenitsyn was not permitted to leave the Soviet Union to accept the award. In 1974, *The Gulag Archipelago*, a long work on Soviet police terror and the labor camps, was published in the

West. Solzhenitsyn was expelled from the Soviet Union the following year.

*Exile of Sakharov*

Andrei Sakharov (1921–1989), a physicist and a key figure in the Soviet Union's development of the hydrogen bomb, also joined the ranks of the dissidents, calling for greater freedom of expression and a liberalization of the political system. In 1975, Sakharov was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, but the authorities would not allow him to leave the country to accept it. Sakharov's contacts with Western journalists annoyed the regime, and he was sent into internal exile in the city of Gorky, which was off-limits to Westerners.

*Jewish Emigration*

The question of Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union became a serious issue during the Brezhnev years. In the 1970s, the Soviet regime permitted an increasing number of Jews to leave, although many continued to be denied exit visas. When American-Soviet relations deteriorated following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, Jewish emigration declined markedly.

*Andropov and Chernenko*

Following Brezhnev's death in November 1982, he was followed in quick succession by two men of his generation. Yuri Andropov (1914–1984) became seriously ill soon after taking over as general secretary and died in February 1984. Konstantin Chernenko (1911–1985) was already in declining health when chosen to replace Andropov and died in March 1985.

**Mikhail Gorbachev (b. 1931)**

The Soviet Politburo now turned to a younger generation of leaders, selecting Mikhail Gorbachev as general secretary. Gorbachev quickly introduced two new terms to the political vocabulary: *glasnost* and *perestroika*.

*Glasnost*

The policy of *glasnost* ("openness") sought to reduce the intellec-



tual and cultural repression that had long characterized the Soviet system and had contributed to its stagnation. Gorbachev went far beyond Khrushchev's "Thaw" of the late 1950s. The reporting of news became more honest and less propagandistic, and restrictions on dissenters were reduced. *Glasnost* led, for example, to the decision to publish Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* and to permit Sakharov to return to Moscow.

### *Perestroika*

Gorbachev's policy of *perestroika* ("restructuring") had implications for both politics and the economy. Gorbachev proposed reducing the direct involvement of the Communist Party leadership in the day-to-day governance of the country and increasing the authority of agencies of local government. In the economic realm, he sought to promote not only greater productivity in both industry and agriculture, but also to improve the quality of manufactured goods. *Perestroika* called for a decentralization of economic planning and controls, increased incentives, and greater private initiative than had been permitted in the past.

### *Political Changes*

When his policies encountered opposition from a number of old-line bureaucrats and party officials, Gorbachev succeeded, in the autumn of 1988, in reshaping the Communist Party's leadership. He took the title of president for himself, removed several of his opponents from their positions, and demoted others. In 1989, for the first time in history, contested elections for the Soviet parliament were held, and a number of prominent Communists were defeated. While Gorbachev appeared serious in his determination to promote reform, he was equally determined to maintain the Communist Party's hold on power.

In foreign policy, Gorbachev sought improved relations with the Western powers (see Chapter 36) and pursued a reconciliation with China, visiting Beijing, the Chinese capital, in May 1989.

## Eastern Europe

### The Sovietization of Eastern Europe

The end of World War II brought with it a considerable extension of Soviet power in Eastern Europe. The Soviets reannexed the territory they had acquired as a result of Stalin's 1939 pact with Hitler (see Chapter 34): eastern Poland, the Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), and the Rumanian province of Bessarabia, as well as some Finnish territory. In addition, the Soviets imposed Communist-dominated governments on Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Hungary. In Yugoslavia and Albania, local Communists took power, while Communists played the leading role in the coalition governing Czechoslovakia. The Soviets also controlled their occupation zone in eastern Germany and until 1955, an occupation zone in Austria.

In the late 1940s, as the United States initiated the Truman Doctrine program of aid to Greece and Turkey and the Marshall Plan (see Chapter 36), the Soviets moved to tighten their hold on Eastern Europe. In September 1947, they organized the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) to serve as an instrument of control over the Eastern European Communist parties. The Soviets also removed from power Eastern European Communist leaders whom they suspected of being less than completely willing to accept Moscow's dictates. In February 1948, they imposed a Communist dictatorship on Czechoslovakia. Later the same year, the Soviets sponsored the creation of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance (COMECON), a sort of Marshall Plan for the Soviet bloc. Instead of assisting the recovery of the Eastern European economies, however, the Soviets exploited them.

### *Tito's Defection*

In March 1948, Marshal Tito (1891–1980), Yugoslavia's Communist dictator, defected from the Soviet camp. While Tito was a Communist, he was also a nationalist. His role in the Yugoslav guerrilla war against the Germans had brought him to power at war's end. Unlike other Eastern European Communist leaders, he did not owe his power to the Red Army. Refusing to obey orders from Moscow, Tito moved to improve Yugoslavia's relations with the Western powers.



Tito's revolt revealed the continuing strength of nationalism among the Eastern Europeans and suggested that the force of nationalism could create problems for the Soviets elsewhere among their satellites.

### The East German Revolt

In 1949, following the creation of the German Federal Republic in the Western occupation zones, the Soviets established the Communist-dominated German Democratic Republic in their zone.

Mounting unrest in East Germany erupted in June 1953 when construction workers in East Berlin went on strike to protest the government's raising of work norms. The strike quickly spread to other East German cities, and the country appeared on the verge of open revolt against its Communist rulers. However, Soviet forces stationed in East Germany soon restored order.

### Poland and Hungary

Following Stalin's death in 1953, the new Soviet leadership acted to improve relations with Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito, acknowledging his view that there were various paths to socialism and that it was not necessary for all Communist states to imitate the Soviet pattern. This, as well as Khrushchev's de-Stalinization campaign, had a powerful effect on the Eastern European Communist satellites.

In the autumn of 1956, long-smoldering resentments erupted in Poland and Hungary.

#### *Poland's Deviation*

The Polish Communist leaders removed their Stalinist party chief and replaced him with Wladyslaw Gomulka (1905–1982), a national Communist whom the Soviets had pushed aside in the late 1940s. Gomulka set out to develop a Polish path to socialism and to improve relations with the Roman Catholic Church, which continued to hold the allegiance of the vast majority of Poland's population.

For a time, it remained uncertain how the Soviets would respond to the events in Poland, but Gomulka succeeded in convincing them that Poland would remain a Communist state and would maintain its alliance with the USSR. Thus reassured, the Soviets agreed to let Poland pursue

its new course. The Poles breathed a sigh of relief and spoke of "spring in October."

#### *Hungary's Attempted Revolution*

In Hungary, the outcome was less happy. Imre Nagy (1896–1958), a national Communist like Gomulka, became party leader in October 1956. Hungarian nationalism then exploded in a great popular revolution, which pushed Nagy further than he had originally intended to go. He announced that Hungary would reestablish a multiparty system. Almost inevitably, this would have ended the Communists' control of the government. In addition, Nagy indicated that Hungary would end its alliance with the Soviet Union and pursue a neutralist foreign policy.

In early November, the Red Army moved into Hungary. Nagy was removed and later executed. Janos Kadar (1912–1989) was installed as Hungary's new Communist dictator. During the revolt, some 200,000 Hungarians fled across the Austrian border, seeking refuge in the West.

While Kadar acted ruthlessly in his suppression of dissent, over the course of the next generation he gradually introduced reforms. While political power remained the monopoly of the Communists, Kadar permitted greater freedom of cultural expression and also allowed a degree of private economic enterprise that was unknown elsewhere in the Soviet bloc.

In May 1988, Kadar fell from power. Karoly Grosz (b. 1930), his successor, moved to democratize Hungary's political system and introduced reforms designed to revitalize the country's lagging economy.

### Albania and Rumania

Like Tito in Yugoslavia, Enver Hozha (1908–1985), Albania's Communist leader, had achieved power on his own and thus owed little to the Soviets. Hozha's continued rigid adherence to Stalinist policies led to a break with Moscow in 1960. The Albanians then moved into the Chinese camp.

In 1963, Rumania refused to follow Soviet directives for its economic development and began to pursue a more independent course. In Moscow's view, Rumania should concentrate on agriculture and oil production; the Rumanians wanted to industrialize. While Rumania



remained a rigid Communist dictatorship, it began to develop closer ties with the West.

### The Crisis in Czechoslovakia

The most serious challenge to the Soviets during the 1960s came from Czechoslovakia. In January 1968, Alexander Dubcek (b. 1921), a national Communist, became head of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and initiated a reform program. Dubcek abolished censorship, allowing greater intellectual and cultural freedom and a more open discussion of political issues. He even considered permitting non-Communist political groups to exist. In foreign policy, Dubcek moved to improve relations with the West.

Fearing the spread of demands for reform to other Eastern European countries, Moscow began to pressure the Czechoslovak leaders to restrict the scope of reform. When the Czechoslovaks refused to do so, Soviet, East German, Polish, Hungarian, and Bulgarian troops invaded Czechoslovakia on August 21, 1968. Dubcek was forced out of office. His successor, Gustav Husak (b. 1913), restored tight Communist Party control over the country. Husak remained in power until December 1987, when Milos Jakes (b. 1922) succeeded him.

### Renewed Crisis in Poland

During the 1960s, there were signs of renewed discontent in Poland, particularly over the failures of the government's economic policies, which resulted in serious food shortages and price increases. Protests led to Gomulka's resignation in 1970 and his replacement by Edward Gierek (b. 1913).

Despite the change in leadership, economic problems persisted and grew more serious, giving rise to increased discontent. In addition, there were growing demands for increased intellectual and cultural freedom.

In August 1980, shipyard workers in the Baltic port of Gdansk went on strike. As fear of violence increased, the government yielded to most of the strikers' demands and recognized their independent union, Solidarity, led by Lech Walesa (b. 1943). Gierek lost his post as head

of the Communist Party and was succeeded by Stanislaw Kania (b. 1927).

The pressure for changes in Poland continued. In early 1981, Solidarity demanded a five-day workweek, while rebellious farmers organized a union of their own, Rural Solidarity. Poland's economic problems persisted, and food shortages led to rationing. As tension mounted, the Polish Communist Party replaced Kania with General Wojciech Jaruzelski (b. 1923). In December 1981, Jaruzelski declared martial law, outlawed Solidarity, and ordered the arrest of a number of its leaders, including Walesa.

Although Jaruzelski restored the control of the Communist Party, discontent persisted. In April 1989, the government extended legal recognition to Solidarity and promised that opposition groups would be represented in the new parliament. After Solidarity scored major gains in Communist Poland's first free elections later in the spring, the country's Communist leaders moved to share power with the union. Serious economic problems, including food shortages, shortages of consumer goods and housing, and rising prices, persisted, resulting in a steady decline in the standard of living of the Polish people.

Poland's problems were repeated throughout the Communist bloc, and as the twentieth century moved into its final years, the pressures for change were intensifying.

*As the decade of the 1980s drew to a close, the Soviet Union appeared to be entering an entirely new period in its history. Gorbachev's policies of glasnost and perestroika, if they succeeded, would end the legacy of Stalinism: the demand for total intellectual and cultural conformity, the complete subordination of the Soviet government to the hierarchy of the Communist Party, and the emphasis on the development of heavy industry with a consequent neglect of consumer-goods production and housing construction.*

*Communist Eastern Europe also seemed destined for change. Reform in the Soviet Union, combined with the ever-present force of nationalism, would almost inevitably lead both to changes in the nature of the Communist system in the Eastern European states and to the development of new relationships between them and the Soviet Union.*



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## CHAPTER 39

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### The End of European Empire

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#### Time Line

1945	The Arab League is established
1947	India and Pakistan gain independence from Great Britain
1948	Israel declares its independence
1949	Indonesia gains independence from the Netherlands
1951	Libya gains independence
1952	A revolution in Egypt overthrows King Farouk and leads to the dictatorship of Gamel Abdul Nasser

1954	France withdraws from Indochina
1956	Tunisia and Morocco gain independence from France
	Egypt nationalizes the Suez Canal; Great Britain, France, and Israel attack Egypt
1957	The British West African colony of the Gold Coast gains independence, becoming Ghana
1958	Guinea gains independence from France
1960	Nigeria gains independence from Great Britain
	Most of France's African colonies become independent
	The Congo gains independence from Belgium
1961	Tanganyika gains independence from Great Britain
	The Union of South Africa withdraws from the British Commonwealth
1962	Algeria gains independence from France
	Uganda and Kenya gain independence from Great Britain
1965	Rhodesia issues its unilateral declaration of independence
1967	Israel defeats Egypt, Syria, and Jordan in the Six-Day War
1969	A military revolt in Libya leads to Muammar el-Qaddafi's coming to power
1970	Anwar el-Sadat succeeds Nasser as Egypt's leader
1971	Bangladesh gains independence from Pakistan



1973	Israel defeats Egypt and Syria in the Yom Kippur War
	The United States withdraws its troops from South Vietnam
1978	Israel and Egypt sign the Camp David accords

*Following World War II, the spread of nationalism among the peoples of the Middle East, Asia, and Africa brought an end to the great empires of the European powers.*

*In the Middle East, the withdrawal of the British and French was followed by the decades-long conflict between the Arab states and Israel. In Asia, the Europeans recognized the independence of most of their former colonies by the early 1950s, although in Indochina the United States gradually replaced the French in the struggle against Ho Chi Minh. During the 1950s, the rising tide of nationalism engulfed black Africa, and by the early 1960s, a number of independent African states had come into being. In South Africa, however, there was a continuing struggle over the policy of apartheid (the separation of the races) enforced by the white-dominated government.*

## The Middle East

### The Arab World

Between the two world wars, Arab nationalism emerged as a powerful force in the Middle East. Arab nationalism was directed primarily against the British and French, who dominated most of the area. Although the Arab states of the Middle East—Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia—secured their independence, considerable distrust of the Western powers remained. In 1945, the Arab states organized the Arab League to promote cooperation among them, although behind the facade of Arab unity, differences persisted.

In North Africa, the former Italian colony of Libya became an independent monarchy in 1951. In 1969, a group of army officers seized power, and Colonel Muammar el-Qaddafi (b. 1943) soon

emerged as Libya's strongman. Qaddafi used the income from Libya's rich oil reserves to buy arms from the Soviets and to aid terrorist activities in a number of countries.

In 1956, Tunisia and Morocco gained their independence from France, and following a bitter colonial war, the French acknowledged the independence of Algeria in 1962.

### The Founding of the State of Israel

Following World War II, powerful pressures mounted for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, which the British had acquired as a League of Nations mandate after World War I.

#### Zionism

In biblical times, Palestine had been the home of the Jewish people, and a desire to reclaim the Holy Land remained a part of the Jewish religious tradition. In the late nineteenth century, Theodor Herzl (1860–1904), an Austrian Jew, and others founded the modern Zionist movement, which actively sought the creation of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

During World War I, the British issued the Balfour Declaration, pledging the establishment of such a national home. Faced with Arab opposition, however, the British did not fulfill this pledge, and they also restricted Jewish immigration into Palestine.

#### Israel's War of Independence

The World War II Holocaust brought the issue to a head. The Jews and their supporters demanded the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, while the Arabs remained adamant in their opposition. The British found themselves trapped between these competing demands.

In 1948, the British pulled out of Palestine, turning the problem over to the United Nations. The Jews proclaimed the establishment of the State of Israel, accepting the frontiers proposed by the UN in its effort to partition Palestine between the Jews and the Arabs. The Arab League refused to accept partition, however, and went to war against Israel.



*Israeli Victory and Arab Refugees*

The Israeli war of independence ended in 1949 with an Israeli victory. A number of Arabs were expelled from Israel, while others fled. The issue of the Palestinian refugees and their descendants would remain a troubling problem in the continuing conflict in the Middle East.

*The Suez Crisis of 1956*

In 1952, a revolution in Egypt overthrew King Farouk (r. 1936–1952). Gamel Abdul Nasser (1918–1970), an ardent Egyptian nationalist and advocate of Arab unity, soon established his dictatorship. Nasser developed an ambitious plan for Egypt's economic development, centered on the construction of a high dam at Aswan on the Nile River. Egypt received pledges of loans to help build the dam from the United States, Great Britain, and the World Bank.

*Nationalization of the Suez Canal*

When Nasser tried to play the two Cold War antagonists off against one another and secured arms and a loan from the Soviets, the United States responded in July 1956 by canceling American support for the Aswan high dam. Great Britain and the World Bank did the same. At the end of July, Nasser retaliated by seizing the privately owned Suez Canal Company. Although Nasser agreed to compensate the company's owners, the British and French were troubled by Egyptian control of the strategically important canal.

*The Invasion of Egypt*

Great Britain and France entered into a scheme with Israel, which feared an Egyptian attack. Acting in accord with London and Paris, Israel launched a preemptive strike against Egypt on October 29, 1956. Britain and France quickly moved into the canal zone, ostensibly to separate the antagonists but in reality to take control of the canal.

World opinion joined in condemnation of the British, French, and Israelis. Isolated diplomatically, they withdrew. Egypt paid the Suez Canal Company's stockholders \$81 million for the canal, and the Soviets helped the Egyptians build the Aswan high dam.

The Suez Crisis of 1956 had settled little, and Nasser remained

implacably hostile toward Israel. The Middle East arms race intensified, as the Soviets supplied the Arab states with arms and the United States aided Israel.

*The Six-Day War*

In 1967, a new Middle East crisis erupted. Egyptian, Syrian, and Jordanian troops massed along Israel's borders. On June 5, Israel attacked, beginning the Six-Day War. Catching their enemies off balance, the Israelis occupied Egypt's territory east of the Suez Canal (the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula), Syria's Golan Heights, and Jordan's holdings on the West Bank of the Jordan River. On June 10, an armistice was signed.

The Six-Day War humiliated not only the Arabs, but the Soviet Union as well. The Soviets provided the Arab states with a new supply of arms. In 1970, following Nasser's death, Anwar el-Sadat (1918–1981) became Egypt's leader, and tension with Israel continued.

*The Yom Kippur War*

In October 1973, Egypt and Syria renewed their war against Israel, beginning the so-called Yom Kippur War. This time the Israelis were caught off guard, and they were pushed back. Israel gradually recovered its poise, however, and drove across the Suez Canal into Egypt and advanced toward the Syrian capital of Damascus.

Golda Meir (1898–1978), Israel's prime minister, agreed to a cease-fire, but the Israelis remained adamant in their refusal to give up the territories they had occupied in 1967, insisting they were necessary for Israel's security.

*Arab Oil Embargo*

Following the Yom Kippur War, the Arab oil-producing states placed an embargo on the shipment of oil to the United States and Western Europe in an effort to force them to put pressure on Israel to make concessions. In addition, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) began a round of increases in the price of



petroleum that helped spur an inflationary spiral in the industrialized countries.

### Accords Between Egypt and Israel

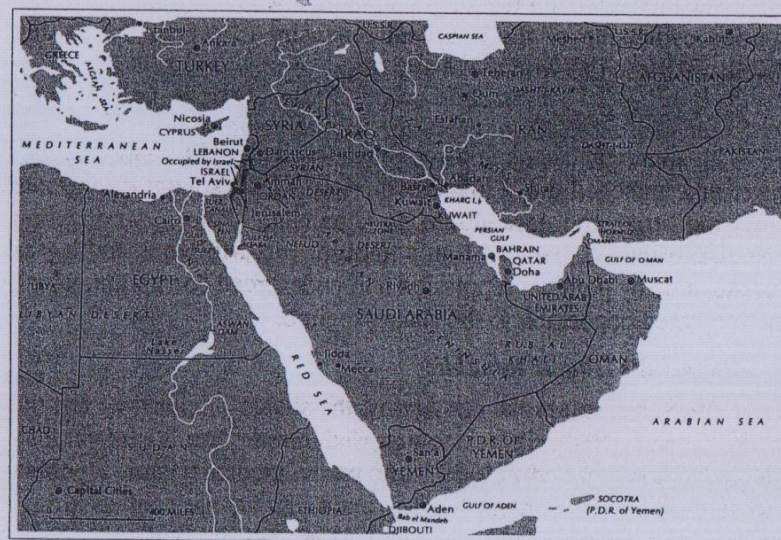
Recognizing the negative impact that the continuing conflict with Israel had on Egypt's economic development, Sadat sought a normalization of relations between the two countries.

In September 1978, American President Jimmy Carter (b. 1924) invited Sadat and Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin (b. 1913) to meet with him at Camp David, Maryland. Carter succeeded in inducing the two leaders to sign the Camp David Accords, which established a framework for a peace treaty. In March 1979, Sadat and Begin returned to Washington to sign a formal peace treaty in which Israel agreed to return the occupied Sinai peninsula to Egypt. No agreement was reached, however, on an Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip, the West Bank of the Jordan River, and the Golan Heights or the troublesome issue of the Palestinian refugees.

In October 1981, Egyptian nationalist extremists assassinated Sadat. Egypt's new president, Hosni Mubarak (b. 1928), continued the moderate foreign policy of his predecessor, and the peace settlement between Egypt and Israel remained intact.

### Civil War in Lebanon

The question of the Palestinian refugees remained as a major obstacle in the path of a broader Middle Eastern settlement. Under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), headed by Yasir Arafat (b. 1929), the Palestinians demanded the return of the Israeli-occupied lands and the creation of a separate Palestinian state. Many Palestinians had taken refuge in Lebanon, creating a virtual state-within-a-state beyond the ability of the Lebanese authorities to control. In 1975, the Palestinians joined with the Lebanese Moslems in an attempt to overthrow the Christian-dominated government. As Lebanon sank deeper in the abyss of a vicious civil war, Syria moved in and established its military control over much of the country.



The Middle East, 1989

### UN Intervention

Palestinian terrorism enraged the Israelis, who moved into southern Lebanon on several occasions to strike at PLO bases. In June 1982, the Israelis pushed deep into Lebanon. A cease-fire was arranged, and the United Nations organized an international peacekeeping force to establish a buffer zone between contending elements in Lebanon. Tension continued to run high in the area, however, as a result both of ongoing civil conflict in Lebanon and the uprising of Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and West Bank.

### Iran

In 1951, Mohammed Mossadegh (1880–1967) became Iran's prime minister. He pursued an anti-Western policy, nationalizing the country's petroleum industry. Iran's ruler, Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi (r. 1941–1978), lost power and fled the country. With the support of a coup engineered by the American CIA, Mossadegh was



overthrown in 1953 and the shah's authority was restored. The shah returned ownership of the petroleum industry to private hands and established close ties with the West.

### *The Shah's Regime*

With American aid and oil royalties, the shah built up his military power and launched the White Revolution, which sought to promote Iran's industrial and agricultural development. The modernization campaign offended many of Iran's traditionalist Moslems, and it was accompanied by political repression and widespread corruption, which also increased opposition to the shah's regime.

### *Khomeini's Islamic Republic*

In 1978, a revolt broke out against the shah's rule, and he left the country in early 1979. Power now passed into the hands of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (1902–1989), who proclaimed an Islamic republic. Khomeini was both an ardent Moslem and an ardent nationalist, strongly anti-American, anti-Soviet, and anti-Israeli in his views.

When the United States gave refuge to the exiled shah, who was dying of cancer, Iranians seized the American embassy in Tehran in November 1979, taking more than fifty Americans as hostages. Complex negotiations finally brought the release of the hostages in January 1981.

## Asia

### China

The victory of the Communists in 1949 reduced Western influence in China. While Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong, 1893–1976) formed an alliance with the Soviet Union and initiated a five-year plan, in imitation of the Soviet pattern of economic development, Sino-Soviet relations gradually cooled, and China moved to improve relations with the West. Following Mao's death in 1976, Deng Xiaoping (b. 1904?) emerged as the key figure in the government. Deng adopted reformist policies in an effort to promote China's economic development.

### Japan

Following World War II, the United States established its occupation of Japan, with General Douglas MacArthur (1880–1964) serving as supreme commander. Under American tutelage, the Japanese drafted a democratic constitution establishing a parliamentary monarchy.

The Japanese undertook a remarkable development of their economy, and by the mid-1960s, Japan had become the world's third greatest industrial power, behind the United States and the Soviet Union.

### India

In 1947, the British withdrew from their empire in the Indian subcontinent, and two independent states came into being, predominantly Hindu India and mainly Moslem Pakistan.

The establishment of the new India was largely the work of Mohandas K. Gandhi (1869–1948), known as the Mahatma (Great Spirit), and Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964). Soon after the achievement of independence, Gandhi was assassinated, and Nehru, the leader of the ruling Indian National Congress party, had to bear the primary responsibility for building the new state.

In international affairs, India pursued a neutralist course, seeking to avoid direct involvement in the East-West conflict.

### *Economic Problems*

With a huge population of 350 million, most of whom lived in poverty, India required massive infusions of aid from more highly developed countries to advance its own economic development. Most of India's economic growth, however, was offset by the country's growing population.

### Pakistan

The 70 million people of Pakistan emerged into independence in 1947 under the leadership of Mohammed Ali Jinnah (1876–1948), the head of the Moslem League, which had long sought the establishment of a separate Moslem state in the Indian subcontinent. Jinnah did not long survive the achievement of independence, dying in 1948.



In foreign policy, Pakistan adopted a pro-Western stance, joining both SEATO and the Baghdad Pact alliances during the 1960s (see Chapter 36). In later years, Pakistan adopted a more neutral posture.

Like India, Pakistan faced a host of problems, and economic underdevelopment increased political tensions. Pakistan's problems were compounded by the fact that the country was divided into two parts, with some 1,000 miles of Indian territory separating West Pakistan from East Pakistan. In 1971, East Pakistan rebelled and with India's help, won its independence, becoming the Republic of Bangladesh.

### Bangladesh

In the years following its achievement of independence in 1971, the political and economic history of Bangladesh proved to be unhappy. Efforts to establish a workable form of representative government were uncertain at best, with military dictatorship alternating with civilian rule. Economically, the country remained desperately poor, overpopulated, and dependent on foreign aid for survival.

### Indonesia

Following World War II, the Netherlands attempted to reassert its control over its rich empire in the East Indies. In 1949, however, the Republic of Indonesia gained independence under the leadership of Achmed Sukarno (1901–1970). Indonesia was rich in tin, oil, rubber, and other resources and faced a more promising economic future than many of the other newly independent Asian states.

Sukarno gradually increased his dictatorial power, establishing what he called a “guided democracy.” Sukarno's decision to increase Indonesia's ties with Communist China intensified opposition to his rule. An army revolt in the autumn of 1965 led to Sukarno's ouster.

### Other Asian Nations

Elsewhere in Asia, the United States recognized the independence of the Philippines, while Ceylon (which became Sri Lanka), Burma, Malaysia, and Singapore secured independence from Great Britain.

The British retained the crown colony of Hong Kong, although a treaty signed in 1984 provided for its restoration to China in 1997.

## Southeast Asia: The Vietnam War

### The Origins of the Vietnam Conflict

Following World War II, nationalist elements in Indochina began a guerrilla war in an effort to prevent the reestablishment of French imperialist control. What made Indochinese nationalism different from nationalism elsewhere in Asia was the fact that Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969), the leader of the Indochinese nationalists, was a Communist. Because Ho bore that label, the conflict in Indochina became a part of the Cold War.

#### *The Viet Minh*

By 1950, Ho had united the nationalists in the part of Indochina that would become known as Vietnam into a movement called the Viet Minh. Ho's forces succeeded in inflicting a series of defeats on the French, and the United States provided increasing support for the French cause. Despite this aid, the French stronghold of Dienbienphu fell to the Viet Minh in May 1954, and the French decided to withdraw from Indochina.

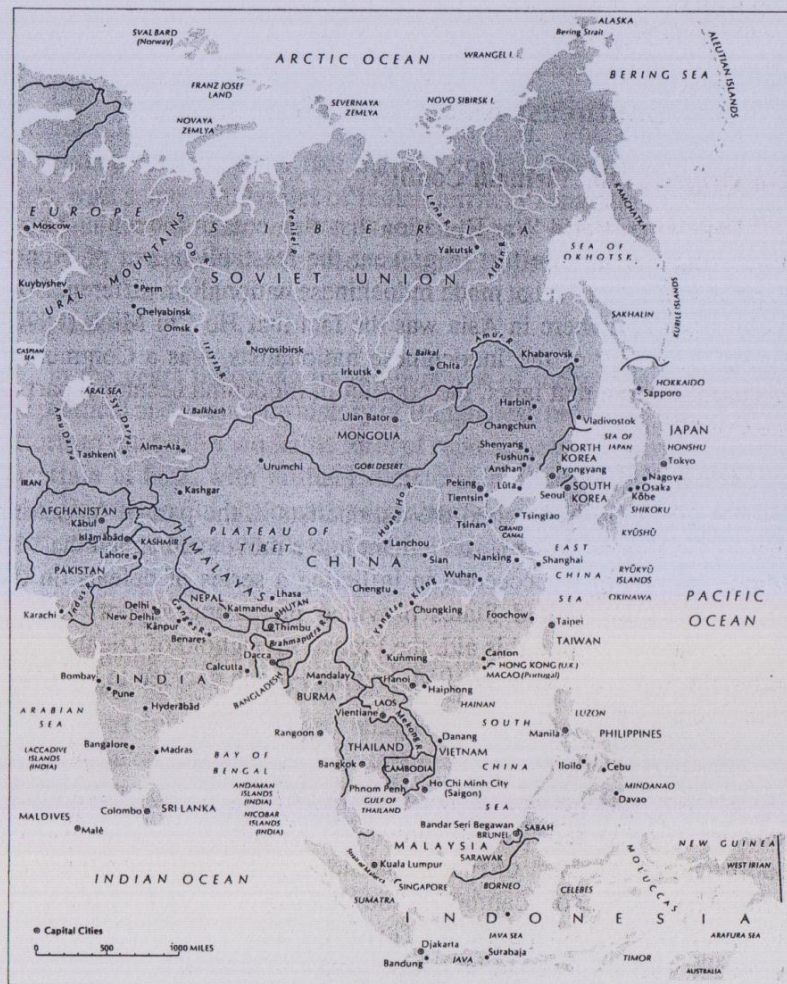
#### *Geneva Accords*

An international conference held in Geneva, Switzerland, in the summer of 1954 reached agreement on the Geneva Accords, which confirmed the division of Indochina into the three separate and independent states of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam and then further divided Vietnam at the 17th parallel. This separation of North and South Vietnam was supposed to be temporary, pending elections scheduled for 1956, which would determine the nature of Vietnam's government. Ho Chi Minh, who controlled North Vietnam, expected that these elections would give him control of the South, as well.

#### *Start of U.S. Intervention*

The United States began to provide assistance to South Vietnam and selected Ngo Dinh Diem (1901–1963), a fervent anti-Communist,





Asia, 1989

to lead the country. With American support, Diem refused to carry out the agreement to hold elections in 1956. In response, Ho Chi Minh renewed the war.

### Increased American Involvement

During the 1960s, the United States increased its support of the Diem government in its struggle against the National Liberation Front (Viet Cong), guerrillas who were aided by North Vietnam. The American government viewed the situation in terms of the Cold War, regarding the war in Vietnam as part of the worldwide effort to contain the expansion of Communism and Soviet power, which were regarded as the same thing.

### American Opposition to War

In 1965, the United States assumed the primary military responsibility in South Vietnam. As the ground combat intensified and the American bombing of North Vietnam increased, American losses mounted and popular opposition to the war grew in the United States.

### The End of the Vietnam War

When Richard Nixon (b. 1913) became president in 1969, he regarded finding a solution to the problem of the Vietnam war as one of the main tasks of his administration.

### The Paris Accords

Following long and complex negotiations, the United States, South Vietnam, North Vietnam, and the Viet Cong signed the Paris Accords in January 1973. The agreement provided for an immediate cease-fire and United States withdrawal of its remaining troops. In the spring of 1975, the North Vietnamese intensified their attacks on South Vietnam, and South Vietnamese resistance quickly collapsed. At the end of April 1975, North Vietnamese troops took the South Vietnamese capital of Saigon, and it was renamed Ho Chi Minh City. The long war in Vietnam had finally reached its end.



## Africa

### Decolonization in Black Africa

In black Africa south of the Sahara Desert, nationalism became a potent force during the 1950s.

#### *The Gold Coast*

The British West African colony of the Gold Coast gained independence in 1957 under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972). It became the nation of Ghana.

#### *Nigeria*

The British colony of Nigeria, also in West Africa, secured independence in 1960. Nigeria was fortunate in possessing oil reserves, and it used the income from this resource to finance its economic development.

#### *Tanzania, Uganda, and Kenya*

In East Africa, Tanganyika, a British possession, became independent in 1961 under the leadership of Julius Nyerere (b. 1922). In 1964, the island colony of Zanzibar joined with Tanganyika to form the new country of Tanzania. Uganda gained independence from Great Britain in 1962.

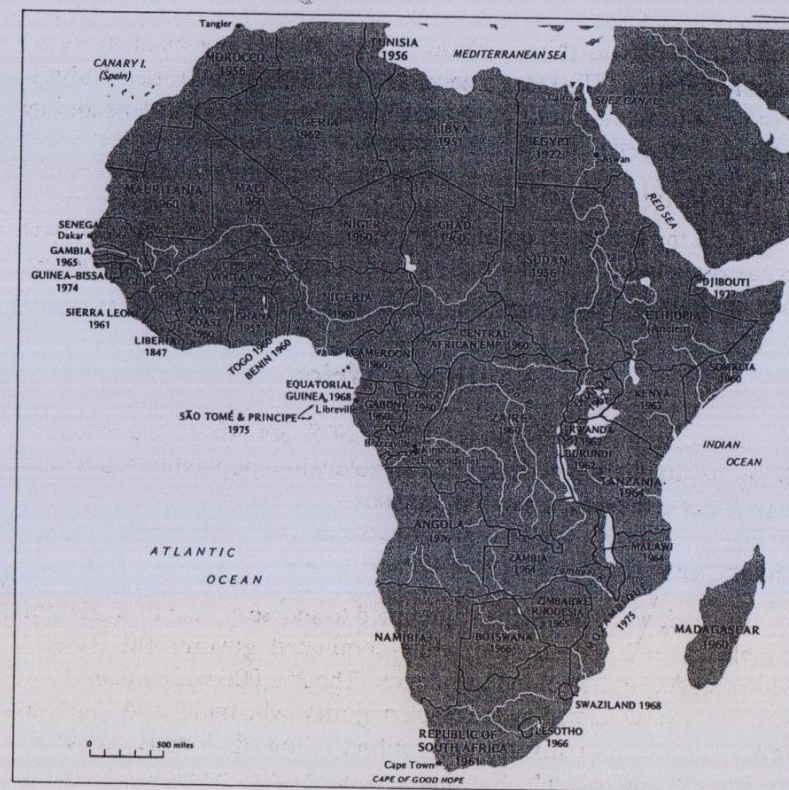
In Kenya, another British East African possession, white settlers fought for several years against the terrorist Mau Mau organization. In 1962, however, Kenya became independent, and Jomo Kenyatta (1893–1978), a founder of the Mau Mau movement, became the country's first president.

#### *Malawi and Zambia*

In southern Africa, the British colonies of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia became independent in 1964, taking the names of Malawi and Zambia, respectively.

#### *Former French Possessions*

The French West African colony of Guinea gained its independence in 1958. Sekou Touré (1922–1984), Guinea's president, pursued a pro-Soviet foreign policy. France's other possessions in



Africa, 1989

black Africa became independent in 1960. Unlike Guinea, they became members of the French Community and maintained close economic and cultural relations with France.

#### *The Congo (Zaire)*

Belgium hoped to maintain control over its rich colony of the Congo in Central Africa. The Belgians confronted mounting demands for independence, however, and abruptly withdrew in 1960. The new Republic of the Congo quickly sank into chaos, which persisted for several years.



In 1965, General Joseph Mobuto (b. 1930) seized power and established a dictatorship. Mobuto soon began to change names to erase the colonial past. The Congo became Zaire; its capital of Leopoldville became Kinshasa; and Mobuto Africanized his name, becoming Mobuto Sese Seko.

### *Angola and Mozambique*

Of all the European colonial powers in Africa, Portugal held on to its possessions the longest, finally granting independence to Angola and Mozambique in 1975.

## Southern Africa

In southern Africa, both the Union of South Africa and Rhodesia (formerly Southern Rhodesia) had sizable white populations, although in both cases they were small minorities.

### Zimbabwe

In 1965, when the British attempted to secure equal political rights for blacks in Rhodesia, the white-dominated government issued a unilateral declaration of independence. The 250,000 whites feared they would be overwhelmed by the black majority, who numbered 6 million. Several years of controversy and conflict followed. Finally, in 1980, a government controlled by the black majority took power, and Rhodesia became Zimbabwe.

### The Union of South Africa

Farther to the south, the Union of South Africa had been a self-governing dominion within the British Empire since 1910. Following World War II, the white minority in South Africa numbered about 4 million. These whites were primarily of British and Dutch ancestry. The latter, known as Afrikaners, became a majority of the white population in the post-World War II period and were determined to maintain white control, even though blacks and other nonwhites totaled some 18 million.

### *Apartheid*

The Afrikaners' Nationalist Party imposed and maintained a system of rigid racial segregation known as apartheid. Blacks were compelled to live in separate townships and had little opportunity for higher education or occupational advancement. Black activists were imprisoned, often without trial, and strict censorship laws were enforced.

In the face of mounting pressure from Great Britain and other members of the British Commonwealth, the Union of South Africa pulled out of the Commonwealth in 1961, becoming the Republic of South Africa. The government remained firm in its determination to maintain apartheid.

*The end of European empire did not bring stability to much of the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. In the Middle East, there was no resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the policies of both Libya and Iran also continued to contribute to international instability. In Asia, Japan succeeded in becoming both a viable democracy and an industrial giant, while China appeared to be making economic progress under a modified Communist system. Other Asian countries—South Korea, Singapore, and Malaysia, among them—were also advancing economically, but elsewhere in Asia, serious problems of overpopulation, poverty, and political instability persisted. Similar problems affected much of Africa, while in South Africa the conflict over apartheid was becoming more bitter.*

### Recommended Reading

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